

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 ERDA-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 OIC-02

OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15

TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05 BIB-01 CU-02 /080 W

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O R 122203Z JUL 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 4553

SECDEF

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FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM

SUBJ: CSCE: CBM'S: AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE ISSUE

REF: GENEVA 5474

1. SUMMARY: MAJOR OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS FOR COMPLETION OF OPERATIVE TEXT OF MANEUVER CBM ARE AREA OF APPLICATION IN TURKEY AND AMPHIBIOUS/AIRBORNE FORCES. ALTHOUGH TURKEY IS ONLY CONFERENCE PARTICIPANT DIRECTLY THREATENING TO BLOCK CONFERENCE CONSENSUS ON THESE ISSUES, OTHERS ARE NOT YET SATISIFIED WITH RESULTS SO FAR ON CBM'S AND ARE RELUCTANT TO EXERT PRESSURE ON TURKS FOR A QUICK CONCLUSION. IN ORDER TO BRING TURKEY AND OTHERS ALONG IN CBM SETTLEMENT, US COULD JOIN SOVIETS IN DEVELOPING PACKAGE DEAL, WHICH WOULD BE PRESENTED AS BEST OBTAINABLE FOR ALL CONCERNED. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING PAST WEEK, TURKISH REPS AT CSCE AND NATO HAVE ASKED FOR ALLIED SUPPORT ON TWO REMAINING MAJOR ISSUES IN MANEUVER CBM, ON WHICH THEY ARE NOT YET SATISIFIED:
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A) SMALLER ZONE OF APPLICATION FOR MANEUVER CBM

IN ANATOLIA THAN IN USSR;

B) SPECIAL SUBTHRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION OF
COMBINED MANEUVERS IN WHICH AMPHIBIOUS/AIRBORNE
ELEMENTS EXCEED 4,000 TROOPS.

3. OTHER CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS HAVE MADE CLEAR
THAT FIRST AIM IS IN VARIOUS WAYS PREJUDICIAL TO THEIR
INTERESTS, AND URGED TURKEY TO ABANDON IT. TURKS MAY
BE CONSIDERING YIELDING ON THIS POINT, BUT ONLY IF
THEY CAN ACHIEVE SOME SATISFACTION ON SECOND AIM.

4. SOVIETS ARE AWARE OF THIS, AND AS OF JULY 12
APPEAR TO BE ACTIVELY EXPLORING POSSIBLE WAYS TO MEET
THIS TURKISH PROBLEM, WITH ENCOURAGEMENT FROM US AND
OTHER ALLIES. TURKS HAVE REPEATEDLY APPROACHED US WITH URGENT
REQUESTS FOR HELP IN THIS PROCESS, SO THAT THEY CAN REPORT FAVORABLE
DEVELOPMENTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO ANKARA, AND WE HAVE AGREED
TO KEEP PRESSING SOVIETS ALONG WITH OTHER ALLIES. AT SAME
TIME WE HAVE POINTED OUT THAT SUBTHRESHOLD
OF 4,000 TROOPS IS UNATTAINABLE, AND THAT SOVIETS ARE UNLIKELY
TO AGREE TO ANY OBLIGATORY "SECOND THRESHOLD".

5. AT THIS JUNCTURE, IT IS FAR FROM CERTAIN THAT SOVIETS
CAN COME UP WITH ENOUGH ON AMPHIBIOUS/AIRBORNE ISSUE
TO GET TURKISH INSTRUCTIONS ON AREA CHANGED, AND WE
FORSEE SEE SITUATION IN WHICH PRESSURE FROM ALLIES
AND OTHERS ON TURKEY MAY BE REQUIRED. HOWEVER, WE EXPECT
THAT NEUTRALS AND SMALLER NATO ALLIES WILL BE RELUCTANT
TO JOIN IN SUCH PRESSURE ON TURKS, AND SOME SMALLER PARTICIPANTS
MAY ACTUALLY ENCOURAGE TURKEY TO DRAG ITS
FEET, OUT OF GENERAL DISSATISFACTION WITH CURRENT
RESULTS OF CBM NEGOTIATIONS. TO ILLUSTRATE THIS
DANGER, WE WERE ADVISED TODAY THAT BELGIAN AMBASSADOR
IN ANKARA HAD SHOWN INSTRUCTIONS FROM DAVIGNON TO
HIS UK COLLEAGUE, AND THAT INSTRUCTIONS WERE TO
SUPPORT TURKISH POSITION ON ANATOLIAN EXCLUSION IN ORDER
TO DELAY CONCLUSION OF CSCE.

6. IN ORDER TO HELP IMPROVE CBM OUTCOME IN VIEW OF
OTHERS, TO DEMONSTRATE TO TURKS THEIR INCREASING ISOLATION, AND
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THUS BRING THEM TO ACCEPT WHATEVER SOVIETS CAN OFFER ON
AMPHIBIOUS/AIRBORNE ASPECT OF MANEUVERS, WE HAVE RECOMMENDED
IN REFTEL AND EARLIER CABLES THAT USDEL BE GIVEN FLEXIBILITY
TO JOIN IN PACKAGE DEAL, WHICH COULD SATISFY TURKS AND OTHERS
AND CONCLUDE CBM NEGOTIATION.

7. SUCH A PACKAGE DEAL WOULD IN OUR VIEW HAVE TO
CONTAIN SOME OR ALL OF THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS, ONE

OF WHICH REQUIRES REVISED US POSITION. WE STRESS
THAT NO SINGLE ELEMENT OF THIS PACKAGE WILL FULLY
SATISFY THE TURKS, AND THAT SOME ELEMENTS ARE DESIGNED
TO SATISFY OTHER PARTICIPANTS, IN ORDER TO BRING
THEM ALONG AND THUS PUT ADDITIONAL PRESSURE
ON TURKS TO JOIN:

A) ADDITION TO TEXT ON "SMALLER SCALE MANEUVERS",
AS OUTLINED IN STATE 163449. NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS
REQUIRED.

B) ADDITION TO /CONTENT OF NOTIFICATION" TO
INDICATE DESIRABILITY OF NOTIFICATION OF NUMERICAL
COMPONENT FORCES OF COMBINED MANEUVERS AS WELL AS OVERALL STRENGHT OF
FORCES INVOLVED. THIS WOULD ALLOW TURKS
TO PRESS SOVIETS FOR NOTIFICATION OF STRENGTH OF ANY
AMPHIBIOUS COMPONENTS PARTICIPATING IN MANEUVERS OVER

25,000 TROOPS. NO NEW INSTRUCTIONS REQUIRED.

C) CLEARER DEFINITION OF PRESENT THRESHOLD TO
INDICATE UNAMBIGUOUSLY THAT IT COVERS INDEPNDENT
AIRBORNE OR AMPHIBIOUS MANEUVERS. THIS WOULD NOT REPEAT
NOT BE DIRECTLY RESPONSIVE TO TURKISH NEEDS, BUT COULD
BE PRESENTED TO TURKS BY US AND OTHERS AS AN ATTEMPT
TO SHOW FLEXIBILITY IN RESPONSE TO REPEATED REQUESTS OF
OTHERS, WITH THE SUGGESTION THAT TURKS SHOW SAME SPIRIT OF
COMPROMISE. MOREOVER, US MOVE WOULD ENHANCE WILLINGNESS
OF SMALLER ALLIES AND NEUTRALS TO EXERT PRESSURE ON
TURKS TO ACCEPT PACKAGE. REQUEST NEW INSTRUCTIONS.

D) EXCEPTION FOR AREAS OF TURKEY "CLOSE TO" NON-
PARTICIPATING STATES, WHICH TURKS COULD INTERPRET
TO COVER POSTS FACING CYPRUS AND LARGE PART OF
SOUTH-EASTERN TURKEY.

8. WE BELIEVE TURKS COULD BE BROUGHT TO ACCEPT SUCH
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A PACKAGE AND WOULD THEN DROP THEIR CURRENT POSITION
ON AREA. AT THAT POINT OVERALL UK-SOVIET PACKAGE DEAL ON
CBM PARAMETERS COULD BE FORMALLY RATIFIED, AND,
ASSUMING SUCCESSFUL RESOLUTION OF SOVIET-ROMANIAN
CONSULTATIONS ON "VOLUNTARY BASIS," MAJOR CBM ISSUES
WOULD BE SUBSTANTIALLY RESOLVED. DALE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, CBM, MILITARY EXERCISES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975GENEVA05481
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750242-0150
From: GENEVA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750761/aaaaccey.tel
Line Count: 160
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 GENEVA 5474
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 JUN 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <03 NOV 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CSCE: CBM'S: AMPHIBIOUS AND AIRBORNE ISSUE
TAGS: PFOR, PARM, XG, CSCE
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006